

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

VOLUME VII, NUMBER 36

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAY 23, 1938

Commission Studies Problems of Youth

Youth Commission Makes Extensive Survey in Maryland of Living Conditions

FARM AND CITY CONTRASTED

Thousands of Young People Express Views on Education, Religion, and Working Conditions

There has been a great deal of discussion of "The Youth Problem" lately. Increasing numbers of people have come to see that very difficult problems do confront young men and women as they set out to make their way in the world. There are difficulties about getting jobs, but that is not the whole of their trouble. There is a general feeling that much could be done to improve the education of youth and to change many aspects of the social world in which the young people find themselves. One result of the determination to improve the conditions of young people as far as possible was the establishment of the American Youth Commission as a department of the American Council on Education.

Detailed Investigation

This commission decided that one of the first steps was to find out as definitely as possible what the actual and concrete problems of young people are. Before a program for improvement could be set up, it seemed necessary to have definite facts about the way boys and girls are living, about the opportunities they have and the opportunities they lack, about their education and their chances for improvement. So the Youth Commission set out to find the answers to these questions.

The commission could not investigate the conditions under which all the young people of the United States live. That would have been too big a job. It did, however, take a sample of the population and made a detailed study. It conducted an investigation of conditions under which young men and women between the ages of 16 and 24 live in the state of Maryland. Maryland was taken as a sample because it was considered a typical state. It has one large city, a number of suburbs, several middle-sized towns, and rural counties which are not unlike the farm districts of many other states. Population is mixed in race and religion in such a way as to furnish a fair sample of conditions throughout the country.

So the Youth Commission sent its investigators to the state of Maryland and they talked with over 13,000 young people of ages ranging from 16 to 24 who were well scattered among cities, towns, villages, and rural districts; among well-to-do families, poor families, and families on relief; and among different sections, races, and religions.

The final report of the Commission will be published on June 3 under the title, "Youth Tell Their Story," but a preliminary report, called "A Study of How the Needs of Youth Are Being Met in Maryland," has already been published and the facts contained in this article are based on that preliminary statement.

As we turn the pages of this report, we get a picture of the young people of America in the various aspects of their lives. First let us turn to the pages which reveal them in their homes.

More than three-fourths of all the young

(Concluded on page 8)



YOUTH

GENDREAU

When the Opportunity Comes

"The secret of success in life," said Disraeli, "is for one to be ready for his opportunity when it comes." We are anxious naturally, for opportunity to come, and we sometimes make the mistake of spending too much time thinking about it and too little getting ready for it. A good many young men and women, just now emerging from school, are wondering what their chances will be in the world, and some of them will be impatient if they have to wait. Many will be obliged to wait a while this year, for times are hard and jobs are scarce. Under the circumstances, it will be impossible to avoid all anxiety. But it is during times like these that each person may well take to himself the advice of Disraeli.

If the outlook at the start is discouraging; if the jobs which are sought do not appear, one should not lose hope. The period of unemployment need not be one of inactivity. It may be one of further preparation. The disappointed job seeker may spend some time each day in study, reading, the gaining of more information about the occupational field of his choice. He may read for enjoyment and culture. He may build foundations of citizenship. It will take courage and nerve and faith to do that at a time when it appears that the world has no place for him, but courage and faith, built upon knowledge, are qualities which an education should develop. They are qualities which the young man or woman, fresh from school, should put to use.

One is obliged to consider immediate needs, of course. It is a very impractical person who does not realize that. But the educated individual should not be completely controlled by present situations. He should be able to take a long-time view of things. He should realize that he is preparing for a lifetime of activity, and that a slow start in the occupational life, though for the moment discouraging and embarrassing, need not be destructive of his hopes. He must hold to the faith that, in the long run, those who are competent, efficient, trustworthy, and cooperative will find their places. Their chances will come. And the better their preparation, the greater will be the probability of their lasting success. It is true that in times of deep depression many worthy people lose their jobs. But, one year after another, the men and women of good character, pleasing personality, and efficient workmanship are going to find their rewards. It will be well, then, for each individual to utilize every otherwise idle moment in an effort to increase his usefulness. Hold to the faith that if you become well informed, if you broaden your interests, if you grow in knowledge, and at the same time add to your technical efficiency along some line, you will be singled out from the crowd and your chance will come. One job is open to you at this moment: the job of making yourself ready for the opportunity which will one day be yours.

Britain Pushes Her New Foreign Policy

Seeks to Bring About General Appeasement by Compromising with Dictatorships

CZECH CONCESSIONS URGED

Whole Trend Now Away from System of Collective Security and Toward Secret Talks

Europe is again entering into a critical stage of its postwar development. The next few weeks are likely to bring vitally important events upon the outcome of which the peace of the continent may well hinge. Despite the confusion which enshrouds the present scene and the numerous currents and crosscurrents which blur the picture, certain trends are fairly clearly discernible. It is always possible, of course, that unforeseen developments will take place during the summer months which will upset all present calculations; nevertheless we may at this time attempt an appraisal of the European picture at the beginning of this critical period.

New Formula

The most important factor in the entire situation is the new approach which is being made to the problem of maintaining peace in Europe. During the last few weeks, several of the leading nations of the continent, led by Great Britain, have adopted a new formula by which they hope to prevent the dikes of war from breaking and inundating the world in a major catastrophe. It is clear that they have given up hope of trying to maintain peace through the League of Nations and the rest of the collective security machinery which was established at the close of the World War. Instead of threatening the dictatorial nations which have violated their pledges, Britain and France are leading the procession which is seeking to come to terms with those nations and place the peace of Europe on a different foundation.

There have been numerous evidences of this new approach during recent weeks. The most conspicuous example of it is seen in the Anglo-Italian treaty of friendship concluded a few weeks ago (see THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, May 2). That treaty marked a definite turning point in British foreign policy, and it is likely to have far-reaching effects upon the future course of events in Europe. It bore its first fruits at Geneva early this month when, in accordance with the terms of the agreement, Britain used her influence to secure recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia by the members of the League of Nations, despite the fact that League members had previously pledged themselves never to recognize Ethiopia as part of the Italian empire.

Whatever explanations may have been offered for this reversal of policy, the real significance of it is that Great Britain has given the kiss of death to the League of Nations and the postwar system of collective security. For all practical purposes, Europe has now returned to the old prewar system of balance-of-power politics, with England attempting to prevent any one group of hostile nations from becoming sufficiently strong to dominate another group.

Great Britain is now trying to clear the ground for the new foundations of peace which she hopes to build. While she is not actively doing anything to help either side in the Spanish conflict, she is no longer even

going through the motions of opposing German and Italian participation in the war on the side of the insurgents. She is using her influence to have France come to terms with Italy and conclude an agreement similar to the Anglo-Italian accord. She is trying to clear up the differences between Germany and Czechoslovakia which constitute one of the greatest disrupting influences on the continent. She herself is trying to settle her differences with Germany by negotiating a pact of friendship similar to the accord with Italy. It is upon the outcome of these, and other, negotiations, now in their initial stages, that the future of Europe will so largely depend.

Major Objectives

If England succeeds in composing the differences which have, during the last three or four years, divided Europe into two hostile camps, she will have removed one of the major causes of friction and one of the greatest threats of war. Her ultimate objective seems to be a four-power pact, including England, France, Germany, and Italy, which would guarantee the peace of Europe for an indefinite period. Reliance would be placed upon such an arrangement rather than upon the League of Nations and other instruments of collective security.

In all this, principles of international justice and morality have been sacrificed to the necessities of the hour in the hope that the trend toward war might be reversed. Admittedly, the repeated bluffs of Hitler and Mussolini have worked, for the two dictators have been able to ride roughshod over treaties and solemn pledges. What the two powers were unable to obtain through years of pleading and negotiation were won by the display of force and outright aggression which was unopposed except by verbal blasts. It was a return to the "might makes right" philosophy which ruled the world for generations.

What further sacrifices of principles will have to be made on the part of England and France and the other democratic powers in the interest of peace is uncertain at this writing. In the hope of preventing an explosion in Czechoslovakia, one of the greatest danger spots of Europe, if not the greatest, concessions have already been made to German demands. While the Prague government has as yet been unwilling to go as far as the Nazis would like, it has nevertheless yielded on a number of points to the German minority residing within the country. In this, it has been urged by England to make concessions in the interest of peace. Konrad Henlein, leader of the German Nazis in Czechoslovakia, has recently been in London conferring with officials of the British government. The Chamberlain government has used its influence with the Czech government to have it make the greatest possible concessions "compatible with the integrity of Czechoslovakia."

Czech Concessions

A few days ago legislation was introduced in the Czech legislature designed to satisfy the complaints of the German minority of the country. By its terms, the Germans are to receive complete equality with respect to government positions, expenditure for public works, and other matters. Henlein and his followers demand more; their program would, in the opinion of many impartial observers, completely destroy Czechoslovakia as an independent nation. As Dorothy Thompson describes it in a recent column, "what Mr. Henlein is asking the Czechoslovak state to do is graciously to commit suicide in the interests of European peace." It is doubtful whether England would have Czechoslovakia accede to all the demands of Henlein; nevertheless she is urging the Czech government to pay a greater price than it feels it can pay to satisfy Henlein.

But Czechoslovakia is but one of the countries in Central and Southeastern Europe into which Germany is extending her influence. In Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, the Berlin government is seeking to throw its weight to pro-Nazi organizations and is using propaganda to line the people up with the Germans. While Germany has by no means succeeded in wean-



THE DICTATORS MEET IN ROME
And the world wonders what decisions they made with regard to the future of the Rome-Berlin axis.

ing these countries away from their longstanding allegiance to France, the influence of the latter has been greatly weakened during the last few years.

Little Opposition

While Germany has thus far received little effective opposition in realizing her ambitions for expansion in Europe, there will certainly arrive a time when England and France and the other powers will no longer stand by lest their own security be greatly menaced. Many think that aggression against Czechoslovakia would set off the spark because France, as well as Russia, are pledged to come to the aid of that nation in case of attack. It is argued that it is a realization of the dangers in the Czechoslovak situation which prompted England to urge the Prague government to

ago Mussolini delivered one of his customary bombastic addresses at Genoa in which he seemed to talk as if the totalitarian states might be pitted against the democratic nations in a death struggle at some future time. He spoke in glowing terms of the lasting friendship between his country and Germany and placed Italy's stamp of approval upon the German annexation of Austria. There was no indication that the accord with England had weakened the Rome-Berlin axis. In fact, Il Duce was much less enthusiastic in speaking of the Anglo-Italian treaty. He even expressed doubt as to whether Italy and France could come to terms at all because of the basic conflict over the war in Spain. Nevertheless, there are good reasons for believing that Mussolini's enthusiasm for Germany is less cordial than would appear on the



HODGES IN "THE WESTERN MAIL AND SOUTH WALES NEWS"
HIGH TENSION
A British view of Nazi activities in Europe

make as great concessions as possible in the interest of peace.

Meanwhile, interest focuses upon the British attempt to bring about a general appeasement in Europe through the negotiations which are now under way. In this undertaking, England has undoubtedly been assisted by a number of recent developments. At any rate, the sharp division of Europe into two irreconcilably hostile camps seems, for the time being at least, to have been halted. While there has been no weakening in the Italian-German friendship, known as the Rome-Berlin axis, those two nations have by no means gone the full length of signing a military alliance.

It is true, of course, that only a few days

surface. As a neighbor, Germany stands as a menace to Italy. The Nazi economic and political penetration of Central and Southeastern Europe comes into direct conflict with basic Italian interests in that section.

The reasons for Mussolini's tactics, as indicated by the Genoa address, have been explained as a political maneuver to win him further concessions by England and France. As the Washington Post declares in a recent editorial: "Anyway, Austria has passed into history. What was done cannot be undone. Reconciling himself to the new situation, therefore, Mussolini is apparently determined to capitalize the blackmailing value of the axis for all it is worth."

In other words, Great Britain and more particularly France are warned that unless they are prepared to harmonize their policies with those of Italy, the Rome government will strengthen the link to Berlin. And he saw fit to add that if the democracies make any move to wage an ideological war against the dictatorships, the latter, for their part, will "immediately form a bloc and will march together to the end."

Underlying Motives

However that may be, both England and France appear willing to make considerable sacrifices as the price for peace. The British are said to be so anxious to come to terms with Hitler as to make great concessions to satisfy German demands. Just what terms will be acceptable to the Nazis will be apparent only as the present negotiations proceed. Certainly the question of the restoration of Germany's colonies will come up for discussion.

The present French government is more likely to agree to the policy of seeking to come to terms with the dictatorships than were its predecessors. The Daladier government is more conservative than the Popular Front cabinets of the past and thus less likely to insist upon supporting the loyalists in Spain, upon maintaining close relations with Soviet Russia, and in general upon pursuing policies antagonistic to those of the fascist dictatorships. The recently concluded military alliance between England and France is interpreted as an indication of the willingness of France to go along with British foreign policy.

To many persons, the British formula is nothing more or less than a selling out to the fascist powers. Critics contend that the Chamberlain government is not hostile to the ideas and aspirations of the fascist powers, and fears far more Soviet Russia because of its opposition to the capitalist system. For that reason, it is argued, England is seeking to separate France and Czechoslovakia from Russia and to lay the foundations of a system dominated by the four powers.

Secret Diplomacy

Supporters of the present British government do not share this opinion. They claim that the foreign policy of the Chamberlain government is based upon realism. They argue that Chamberlain realized that unless something was done to compose the differences with the fascist powers, Europe would inevitably drift into war, and for that reason he reversed his government's policy in an attempt to make a general appeasement possible. As the New York Times summarizes these latest developments: "Plainly enough, Britain and France have given up the policy of lecturing and threatening Hitler and Mussolini and are endeavoring to compromise with them all along the line. They tried all the power of words when Mussolini went after Ethiopia and when Hitler went after Austria. They failed, and now they are trying something else and they are trying without much help from the United States."

The next few months will tell whether this policy of compromise will be more successful than the old policy. Europe seems to be on the threshold of a period of secret diplomacy of the prewar variety. Because of the rigid control which the dictatorial governments maintain over the press and other agencies of communication, it will be increasingly difficult to follow and appraise the international scene.

The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December and the last two issues in August) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester. For a term shorter than a semester the price is 3 cents a week.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL BOARD

CHARLES A. BEARD HAROLD G. MOULTON
FRED J. KELLY DAVID S. MURPHY
WALTER E. MYER, Editor

PAUL D. MILLER, Associate Editor

AROUND THE WORLD



SWITZERLAND TAKES MILITARY PRECAUTIONS
Bordered by Germany, France, and Italy, little Switzerland is turning an anxious eye on her defenses and armaments. The government is training anti-aircraft batteries as a precautionary measure.

China: Climaxing a long and bitter struggle, Japanese forces reached the strategic Lung-Hai railroad last week and advanced within striking distance of the important city of Suchow. As one Japanese military machine rolled down from the north, another advanced from the south, and as the two approached, the position of the Chinese troops caught between the advancing walls became hazardous. If and when the Japanese forces meet, a prime objective of Japanese strategy will have been realized, for then the northern and southern Chinese areas under Japanese control will have been united.

Mexico: The dispute between Mexico and Great Britain over the former's expropriation on March 18 of British oil properties valued at \$250,000,000, took an extreme turn last week when President Lazaro Cardenas, goaded by the curt wording of a British note demanding that Mexico pay her debts, withdrew his ambassador from London and broke off diplomatic relations with England. The crux of the disagreement centered not so much on the expropriation itself as upon the degree of compensation that British oil interests should receive. The British demanded a substantial payment at once or the return of the oil properties, while the Mexican government refused to commit itself beyond the promise of full payment within 10 years.

In the meantime the situation within Mexico has grown tense. In its operation of the recently socialized lands, railroads, and oil properties, the leftist government of President Cardenas has realized only partial success, and has had difficulty in maintaining wage standards even at their former level. On top of this there comes the difficult problem of the army, long a powerful political factor in Mexico. Fifty-eight thousand soldiers have demanded pay increases which they are not likely to get since the government simply does not have the money to pay them. It is feared by some that the army will revolt and will join hands with landowners, industrialists, and other interests in an attempt to overthrow the Cardenas regime. It has long been suspected that the leader of such a revolt would be General Saturnino Cedillo,

who is believed to have fascist inclinations.

So real have been the government's fears in this respect, that a number of arms have been passed out to peasants and heavy guards set up in San Luis Potosi where Cedillo is at present staying and seeing nobody. A civil war in Mexico would suggest the danger of foreign intervention and an extremely difficult position for the United States. Is Mexico to become another Spain?

Geneva: "The representatives of fifteen nations sat silent yesterday as a little black man, sick and defeated, bowed gently to them all and walked slowly out of the Council room at Geneva. They had listened in silence while the one-time Emperor of the last black empire told the white world what he thought of its morals and its ethics. He was pleading a lost cause, and he knew it; . . . he knew that in his dignified despair

he was cutting a better figure than his auditors. They knew it, too. In his defeat Haile Selassie tasted the revenge of giving the Council of the League a half hour of the most acute discomfort it has ever experienced. Ethiopia, dying, delivered the funeral oration at a death that was not hers alone."

Thus, the New York Times commented editorially on the meeting held in Geneva to decide whether League members should finally recognize the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Haile Selassie spoke movingly against such action. But his appeal was futile. Britain and France, anxious to resume friendly relations with Mussolini, advised the League powers that recognition of the Italian conquest would serve to further European peace and the powers agreed that each nation should be free to take what action on the question it desired. So, without a formal vote, Ethiopia passed down the Roman road to oblivion.

Hungary: Probably few nations have experimented with as many kinds of government as has Hungary since the World War. First a democratic republic, it then toyed with a communist form of state for a brief spell and is now officially a mon-

archy. But it is a monarchy without a monarch. Until a king should be chosen to wear the ancient Hungarian crown that now reposes under heavy guard in a vault of the royal palace, his place is being taken by a regent, Admiral Nicholas Horthy, who also is the nation's dictator.

Hungary is about the size of Indiana and, like that state, it is for the most part a land of rolling plains rich in grains and fruit. Most of the country's 9,000,000 people live on farms, a small number of them as landowners, the others as tenants or farm hands. Poor in mineral resources, this land supports but few industries and these are centered in Budapest, the capital.

Incidentally, there is no such city as Budapest. The capital actually consists of two cities, Buda and Pest, separated by the Danube River. But they are joined by many bridges, and commercial and social relations between the two are so close that they are generally considered parts of a single metropolis.

The Hungarians suffer from land hunger. In their country there is repeated the familiar pattern of a numerous peasantry not having enough soil and a comparatively small class of landowners with vast estates. But where among other peoples this condition has led to a land division movement, in Hungary it has been cunningly employed by politicians as a peg on which to hang their demands for revision of the nation's boundaries. Under the postwar treaties, a considerable part of Hungary's land was given to Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Statesmen in Budapest have for many years been demanding the return of this territory and they have persuaded the great mass of Hungarians that with its return the land question will be solved.

Brazil: So often has Brazil been the scene of revolutions since Getulio Vargas himself engineered one in 1930, that it was no surprise to observers when another rebellion broke out in Rio de Janeiro the other week. The uprising took place in the early morning hours when a few hundred soldiers tried to seize the presidential palace and several other government buildings. It was hastily quelled by machine guns commanded by a loyal officer.

The incident, of which millions of Brazilians were not even aware until they read about it in the morning papers, is interesting chiefly because it was the work of the Integralistas, a fascist organization said to be aided by Nazi Germany. The Integralistas had good reason for opposing President Vargas. When Vargas made himself Brazilian dictator last November, he outlawed this group although it is certain that he had encouraged the Integralista leader,

Plinio Salgado, to build up his organization's membership to over 2,000,000. Salgado apparently was under the impression that he would eventually be able to make a deal whereby he would share the Brazilian dictatorship with Vargas.

But Vargas, in encouraging the growth of this fascist movement, had another purpose in mind. It was his intention, as subsequent events proved, to allow the Integralistas to expand and then to exploit their expansion as a threat to the state. This is precisely what happened. When the Integralistas had built up a strong nation-wide membership, Vargas charged them with seeking to establish a fascist government and on the grounds of emergency abolished the constitution and made himself dictator. It was natural that, having been exploited and then discarded, the Integralistas should have sought an opportunity for revenge.

Burma: Up until a year ago Burma was a province of India—in the far northeast corner of that state. But the people felt that they were far removed geographically



COURTESY CURRENT HISTORY
BURMA

and racially. They agitated for separation until it was granted them by India's new constitution. Today Burma has just celebrated her first anniversary as a British crown colony, with a constitution, parliament, and electoral system of her own. Observers have watched that first year with interest, for Burma presents a problem in self-government, with her some 14,000,000 people of various racial and religious differences spread out over a wild and semi-jungle area nearly as large as Texas. The industrial areas enjoyed considerable prosperity during the year, partly encouraged by the British defense building program within her borders, and partly by the international demand for minerals which she has in large amounts—particularly tin, tungsten ore, and petroleum.

The basic political and economic unit is in Burma—as in India—the village, and the new government has been careful not to disturb it as such. Generally consisting of not much more than a few huts huddled together in the center of some jungle clearing, it is nevertheless the center of all life throughout the vast interior regions. For centuries each village has elected a "headman" to lead it. Under the new constitution he will remain pretty much the leader and representative of his people.

At a recent Press Gallery dinner Mr. Chamberlain, British prime minister, made a spirited defense of age. "All the old know what it is to be young and foolish," he said, "but none of the young know what it is to be old and wise."



HUNGARIAN LEGATION
HUNGARY'S POSITION IS BUILT ON THE LABOR OF THE PEASANT



REPUBLICAN LEADERS MEET IN CHICAGO.

The Republican National Program Committee which is working to develop policies for the party. Left to right (seated): J. H. Trumbull, Conn.; J. Sam White, N. Car.; Glenn Frank, chairman; Mrs. Chester Bolton, Ohio, chairwoman; H. Alexander Smith, N. J. Standing: Harry G. Hogan, Indiana; W. J. Goodwin, Iowa; Frank Altschul, N. Y.; C. H. Rowell, Calif.; James Douglas, Jr. (representing Sterling Morton, treas.); and William Hurd, secy.

Congress Windup

Many members of Congress are beginning to exert pressure for an early adjournment. They are anxious to wind up their business and return home to prepare for the congressional elections in November, at which time all the members of the House of Representatives will be up for reelection, as well as one-third of the members of the Senate.

When the doors of Congress are closed, the nation will take stock of what has been done by their representatives in Washington. Although the quantity of legislation enacted by this session will set no record, it promises to be rather substantial. Up to the present time, laws have been adopted to control farm crops, to make it easier to finance the purchas-

"unnecessary and burdensome" social security payments; restriction of government competition with business, with particular reference to power activities of the TVA; revision of the National Labor Relations Act to make it more fair to employers; and immediate steps to "eliminate waste and extravagance," with a view to "reducing expenditures and bringing about a balanced budget."

New Deal Democrats will seek votes on the basis of their support of the Roosevelt administration. President Roosevelt is expected to take an active part in the political campaign. As soon as Congress adjourns, he plans to travel extensively about the country, making a number of speeches to help various Democratic candidates. Present plans call for presidential visits to Kentucky, Ohio, and the Pacific Coast.

Foreign Trade

Chambers of Commerce, railroads, airlines, telegraph companies, industrial concerns, and government officials are working together on the program for National Foreign Trade Week, which began yesterday. All week there will be special radio addresses and programs devoted to the subject of our foreign trade, its importance and possibilities. Tonight Secretary of Commerce Daniel C. Roper will speak from St. Louis at 9:30, Eastern Standard Time. Other addresses will be made by Secretary of State Cordell Hull on Friday evening, Dr. Alexander V. Dye of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and Assistant Secretary of State Frances B. Sayre. A dramatization of "Oddities in Commerce Around the World" will be presented over the NBC at 10:30 p. m., Eastern Standard Time, Thursday evening.

Relief Outlook

Six million families, including more than 20,000,000 people, are receiving some form of relief, according to Harry Hopkins, WPA administrator. The WPA is supporting about two and one-half million families; counties and cities are taking care of more than two million with direct relief; unemployment in-

THE CALL OF THE GREAT OUTDOORS
HERBLOOM (C) CARTOON

insurance and similar plans are caring for the rest.

The relief situation seems to be growing more acute daily. In Ohio it is estimated that one person in every five is dependent upon relief. The cities, Cleveland especially, have been hard hit by the exhaustion of their relief funds. The federal government has had to ship \$100,000 worth of food into Cleveland to prevent suffering from hunger. Chicago, too, is running out of relief money; the governor of Illinois is planning to call a special session of the state legislature to consider the problem.

Mr. Hopkins, testifying before a congressional committee, did not try to brighten up the situation. It is likely, he said, that more people will be on WPA rolls next winter than ever before. He expects that it will be necessary to take care of more than 3,000,000 persons. The \$2,400,000,000 tentatively allotted to the WPA in the budget for 1938-39 will not be enough, he says; at least another \$500,000,000 will be necessary.

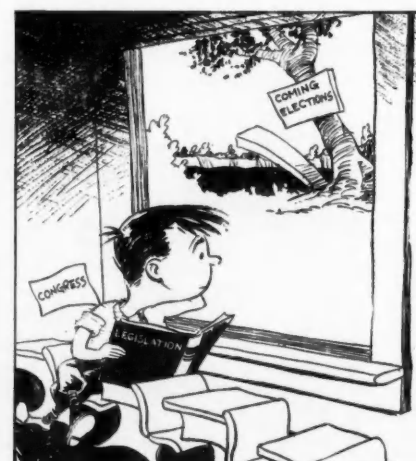
No Vanishing American

The number of Indians in the United States is increasing every year, rather than decreasing, as most people think. It is true that the Indian population dropped from approximately a million to almost 300,000, and it seemed for a while that the red man would become extinct. But during the last few years, the Indians have shown an annual increase until there are more than 337,000 of them now.

The whole philosophy of dealing with the Indian up to a few years ago was based on the idea of changing him into something resembling a white man. It is now recognized that that philosophy was wrong. Since 1934, when the Indian Reorganization Act was passed, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has changed its attitude. Under a new director, John Collier, the Bureau encourages the Indians to live as they have long been accustomed. They may own and work their lands in common, follow their tribal customs and laws. In addition, the federal government has helped them to build better homes, prevent soil erosion, reforest their reservations, buy stock and equipment. As a result of this changed policy, the outlook for the Indian is brighter than it has been for years.

"Good Neighbors"

Maury Maverick, the outspoken congressman from Texas, has introduced a bill into Congress to improve relations between South America and the United States. He would have the government build a powerful short-wave radio station, costing about \$335,000, to broadcast programs to South America; set up an Institute of Friendly Relations in the State Department; pay the expenses for a year's study in South America of 3,000 college students from the United States; encourage the study of Portuguese and Spanish in the United States; promote travel in South America; exchange educational films, literature, and art collections; and stimulate the improvement of transportation by water, air, and highway.

A HARD SEASON FOR CONCENTRATION
MORRIS IN OSWEGO PALLADIUM-TIMES

The Week in the

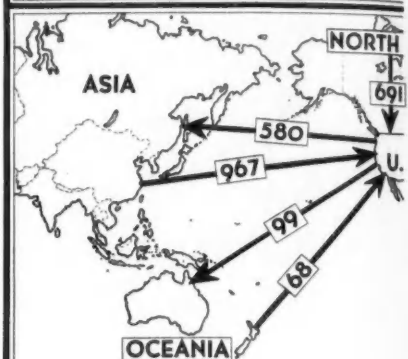
What the American People Are

All this, says Mr. Maverick, will cost the government about five million dollars a year, but will be worth much more in the long run.

TVA Settlement?

The protracted fight between the TVA and the private power companies in the Tennessee Valley seems to be coming to an end. A plan is being worked out for the TVA to purchase the holdings of the private utilities in Tennessee, and in parts of Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia. The TVA will furnish all the electricity used in the area, which takes in 500 cities and towns. And it will promise not to sell electricity beyond that area. Thus

NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE WEEK MAY 22-



SPONSOR
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

THE UNITED STATES LOOKS TO
This week is American Foreign Trade Week. The chart shows

there will be no direct competition between the TVA and the private utilities.

This plan may not work out. But at present, it seems to have excellent prospects. Peace and harmony have marked the negotiations between the TVA and the Commonwealth and Southern, which owns a majority of the power plants and distributing lines in the section being considered. Its president, Wendell L. Willkie, has been the most outspoken critic of the TVA. If he and the TVA directors can get together, it is likely that there will be little trouble arranging deals with the other private utilities.

Population Trends

An outstanding magazine article of the year appears in the May *Harpers*. It is written by the sociologist, Henry Pratt Fairchild, and is called "When the Population Levels Off." The significance of this article is derived from the fact that Professor Fairchild discusses one of the most important things that has ever happened in human history; that is, the falling off in population growth in America and Europe.

During all the years between the beginning of time and the nineteenth century, the population of the world grew to 750,000,000. In most countries population was almost stationary, because additional numbers could not obtain food and clothing and other necessities of life. Then about the beginning of the nineteenth century two things of tremendous import happened. One was the industrial revolution, and the other was the beginning of the rapid settlement of two new continents. These two developments made it possible for human beings in vastly increasing numbers to live, and in a single century population grew more than it had in the thousands of years before. The nineteenth century saw the population more than double in the world. During the 140 years from 1790 to 1930, the population in the territory now occupied by the United States grew from 4,000,000 to 123,000,000.

There are now no new continents to occupy



THE CHIEF JUSTICE

Charles Evans Hughes recently made one of his rare public addresses, before the American Law Institute. He told the institute that a "vigilant bar should exercise a potent influence" against the choice of unqualified persons as judges.

ing of new homes, to modify taxes about which business and industry have complained bitterly, to enable large-scale government spending for relief and recovery, and to enlarge our naval and air forces. There is also a fairly good prospect that some kind of law to establish minimum wages and maximum hours in industry may be enacted at this session.

When the voters go to the polls in November, they will pass judgment on these and other administration policies. Their ballots will be cast largely on the basis of whether they are for or against the majority of New Deal policies.

A possible program for the Republican candidates in the November elections is the "minority report" which was recently given out by the House Appropriations Committee on the President's plan for increased spending and lending. This report is being widely hailed by Republicans and is being suggested as a guide to be followed in Republican campaigns next fall. Its chief provisions are the following:

Complete repeal of the taxes on capital gains and surplus profits; elimination of tax-exempt securities; reduction of the present

the United States

We Are Doing, Saying, and Thinking

and the population cannot grow rapidly any more. It is not growing rapidly, soon it will be at a standstill in America and western Europe. Perhaps it will actually decline in the future.

This is not a new thing in world history. This fact of stationary population is the normal, using thing. It was the nineteenth century and the years before it began and after it closed that were abnormal. The fact remains that our industry and social life have, throughout American history, been geared to a rapidly increasing population. Every farmer and manufacturer has known that he was producing for an ever-expanding market. The fact of rapid growth has touched every phase of life.

GN TRADE WEEK 28, 1938



OF THE UNITED STATES

U. S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
shows the extent of our trade during the year 1937.

Now this has changed. Our population will soon stop growing and perhaps even decline. This will require readjustments of the most fundamental nature.

This remarkable fact that we are getting away from the abnormal population growth which characterized the nineteenth century and returning to stationary population cannot be ignored by any person who hopes to understand what is going on in American industry and politics and social life during the coming century.

But the bigness of the facts suggested by Professor Fairchild's article cannot be set forth in a few paragraphs. The article itself should be read and pondered over.

Helium Monopoly

It looks as though the new German dirigible, the LZ 130, will not be filled with American helium after all. The United States is the only nation in the world which produces helium. Until last year, we refused to sell any of the inflammable gas to foreign nations, on the grounds that it might some day be used in warfare against us. Then the *Hindenburg* burned—a tragedy which would not have happened had the dirigible been filled with helium instead of hydrogen—and Congress passed a law approving the sale of helium for commercial use.

However, a committee, composed of the secretaries of state, war, navy, treasury, interior, and commerce, must decide whether or not there is a possibility that the helium might be used for military purposes. If such a possibility exists, the sale is not permitted. Last winter arrangements were practically completed to sell Germany 14 million cubic feet of helium for the new airship. A ship was waiting in the Gulf of Mexico to take on the cargo from the plant at Amarillo, Texas. But at the last minute, Secretary of the Interior Ickes refused to permit the sale. He was not convinced, he said, that the helium might not be used for military purposes. For several months he has held firm to that opinion. A few days ago Dr. Hugo Eckener, fa-

mous German dirigible builder, came to the United States to try to push the sale through, but thus far he has not been successful. President Roosevelt says that the decision is up to Secretary Ickes.

Story of Asphalt

Asphalt, which covers about 80 per cent of our city streets and 64 per cent of our highways, is a comparatively new industrial product, although its use dates back for centuries. King Nebuchadnezzar paved the streets of Babylon with asphalt in 600 B. C. Much asphalt has been taken from a natural lake which was discovered on the island of Trinidad by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1595. But it was not until 1900 that science learned to produce asphalt from crude petroleum.

Since then, its use has increased rapidly. There are 160,000 miles of asphalt roads in the United States today, eight times as many as there were 10 years ago. Asphalt is generally considered the most satisfactory material for streets and highways. It seems to wear indefinitely; it withstands water, acid, alkali, and heat. Asphalt is used as a dressing for roofs, and as a surface for airports, tennis courts, playgrounds, and sidewalks. A new kind is being developed which can be applied without heat.

Congressmen's Wives

Congressmen's wives do not have to go on the floor of the House or Senate to expound their views on national problems. But they are frequently called upon to say a few words at a club meeting, a luncheon or banquet, or before a high school assembly. And a well-phrased talk, delivered with ease and poise, may win more votes for their husbands than any political oration.

During the last three months, a number of congressmen's wives have attended a public speaking course in Washington. Each week the ladies met to study and to practice under the direction of an instructor from George Washington University. The course was kept a secret, because the "students" felt that they would be deluged with requests to speak if the people at home knew of the course.

Television Sets

Television sets are to be placed on sale in New York soon for \$125 apiece. The sets are of very simple construction, yet they receive the television broadcasts from the Empire State Building clearly, it is said. They do not reproduce the sound broadcasts, but sound receivers to accompany them will be sold for \$15. The manufacturers believe the low price will encourage many people to buy sets.

At present, television broadcasts are on the air from the Empire State Building five hours a week. Three afternoon programs are devoted to "still" pictures and charts; they are intended especially for experimental purposes. Programs of entertainment are broadcast from 8 to 9 o'clock on Tuesday and Thursday evenings.



TREES IN AVON, NORTH CAROLINA
From an illustration in "The Ocean Highway"

NEW BOOKS

BEHIND the pomp and fanfare which have accompanied the rise of Hitler's regime in Germany, there are countless untold stories of what has happened to homes and family life when the Nazis grasped their power. The collective picture is well known—how the youth must join organizations under government control, how diets are strictly regulated for the sake of national economy, how libraries have been purged of non-Aryan literature, and how everyone must accept whatever regulation is made of his thinking, worshipping, laboring, and spending.

Phyllis Bottome, in her latest novel, "The Mortal Storm" (Boston: Little, Brown, \$2.50) goes beyond this general picture to describe the lives of one family from the time when hero worship of Hitler was just beginning to the days of his success in dominating Germany. This moving story shows more than what it means to suffer ordinary, or even difficult, physical hardships. Its success is in portraying the feelings of a people who have been forced to abandon the right to think as they please, to speak as they wish, and to act as they desire. It is rather hard for Americans, who still enjoy the benefits of a democratic nation, to grasp just what changes would occur in ways of living if we were to lose these civil liberties to a dictatorship.

But the intense feeling with which Miss Bottome has drawn each of her characters makes it possible for the reader to place herself in the picture, and take part in the story. The account is concerned with the difficulties which arise in the family of Professor Roth, a Jewish scientist, and his aristocratic wife. Mrs. Roth has two sons, Olaf and Emil, from a previous marriage. These young men are, therefore, considered to have "pure Aryan" blood; their father was not Jewish. And they are among the earliest followers of Hitler. But Rudi and Freya, son and daughter of Professor and Mrs. Roth, are part Jewish.

Thus, from the first of the new regime, it becomes a family divided against itself. Although the professor, a Nobel prize winner,

could have escaped some hardship, he stoutly refuses to become a robot in the new German order, and continues to speak as he thinks. Freya invites official disfavor by marrying Hans Breitner, a young peasant communist. Her own brothers are finally responsible for the orders that Hans must be killed. The professor is driven to an early death, and Freya escapes to America, where she can freely pursue scientific studies. From this sometimes violent and always exciting story, the American reader can easily realize what would be in store for the United States under any form of dictatorial government.

OCEAN HIGHWAY is one of the most frequently traveled routes between the industrial areas of New Jersey and sunny vacation spots in Florida. Its 1000-mile course



ST. MICHAEL'S, CHARLESTON, S. C.
(From an illustration in "The Ocean Highway")

winds along the Atlantic coast, and some of the important cities along the way are ports for ocean-bound boats. Because many tourists in the seaboard states visit the region along this road, a recent volume of the Federal Writers' Project, "The Ocean Highway" (New York: Modern Age Books, 95 cents), will have widespread appeal for summer travelers.

This mile-by-mile description of the Ocean Highway and of some of the short routes branching from it follows the excellent pattern laid by earlier Federal Writers' Project highway guides. It was compiled as a part of the American Guide Series, under supervision of the Works Progress Administration. The information was collected in each of the states through which the highway runs, and then checked and edited in Washington.

This is not the season to be worrying about winter road conditions, but it is interesting to note that the Ocean Highway is usually ice-free when roads further inland are coated with a slippery glaze. It has this advantage because of the milder climate which the Gulf Stream brings to the coast. Along its route lie scores of towns, buildings, and sites which have special importance in colonial and southern history.—J. H. A.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Subscriptions to The American Observer for the semester period expire with this issue. The paper, however, is published throughout the calendar year. To those readers who wish to receive it during the summer months, we offer a special subscription price of 50 cents for June, July, and two weeks in August, payable in advance. Club subscriptions, in quantities of five or more, are offered to summer schools at the rate of three cents a week per copy.

The American Observer
744 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

Please send me _____ copy of The American Observer for _____
copies

Single subscriptions payable in advance.

Name _____

Address _____

Historical Backgrounds

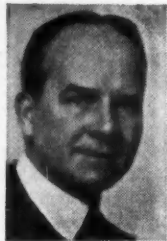
By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The Spoils System Yesterday and Today

ALMOST every administration in Washington, from the close of the Civil War down to the present, has been confronted by the problem of civil service reform. And while, over a period of more than half a century, considerable progress has been made in providing for an efficient personnel of government by means of the merit system, much remains to be accomplished. A large percentage of federal workers are today not under civil service. Many of them owe their appointments to loyal support of the party in power, not to merit or ability. Of the 200,000 or so new employees who have been added to the government payroll under the Roosevelt administration, relatively few have received their appointments through the Civil Service Commission.

Rise of Spoils System

The rise of the spoils system in American politics has been due, to a large extent, to the dual position of the President. Not only is the President of the United States the chief executive of the nation, responsible for the efficient administration of the laws enacted, but he is also head of the party to which he belongs. Thus he has something of a double personality. On the one hand, he knows that the success of his administration will depend largely upon the type of employee which staffs the various governmental departments and agencies. Here strict adherence to the merit system would lead to the best results. But as head of the political party, he is interested in strengthening a political organization, and the best way to attain that result is to distribute jobs where they will do the most good. The best weapon a President has to compel members of Congress to enact his program is patronage. Political machines cannot exist except on jobs which may be handed out to loyal party workers and supporters.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

Despite the extent of the spoils system today, conditions are not nearly so bad as they were before the reform movement began to reap results. Following the days of Andrew Jackson, with some logic called the father of the spoils system, every change of administration in Washington entailed a thorough house cleaning of those who held their jobs by virtue of their support of the defeated party and a mad scramble for the vacated positions by members of the victorious party.

A number of circumstances during the seventies and eighties of the last century contributed to the movement for civil service reform. There were a number of political scandals which called dramatic attention to the inefficiency of the executive branch of the government. The evils of the spoils system were called to the public's attention by a number of reform organizations. It is doubtful, however, whether any of these would have achieved really fundamental results had it not been for the tragedy which occurred in 1881—the assassination of President Garfield by a disappointed office seeker. Congress was spurred into activity, and in 1883 passed the Pendleton Act, which provided for the creation of the Civil Service Commission and which launched the movement for the substitution of the merit system for the spoils system in filling positions in the government service.

At first, only a few thousand of the federal employees were placed under civil service. Gradually the classified lists were extended so that large numbers of positions were filled only by persons who had passed the competitive examinations. Every President from Cleveland to Franklin D. Roosevelt extended the lists of offices under civil service. By the end of the Coolidge administration, three-fourths of all federal employees had been brought under the protective wing of the Civil Service Commission. Nevertheless, there were still 150,000 workers whose heads, to quote a prominent historian, "could fall at the presidential caprice." Because of the great expansion of governmental activities under the Roosevelt administration, the number is much larger today.

Progress Difficult

The reduction of the percentage of federal workers today under civil service is not due to a wanton extension of the spoils system. In the early days of the New Deal, thousands of new employees had to be found in a relatively short time. It is true, of course, that many of these places were filled on the basis of political considerations, not of merit. It is also true that many agencies, although not getting their employees through the regular civil service channels, did exert great care in selecting workers without regard to party politics.

By and large, however, there is a great need today for real civil service reform which will lead to greater efficiency in administering the affairs of the executive branch of the government. That it is not an impossible task may be seen in the fact that many agencies are today the epitome of efficiency. The Civil Service Commission itself is endeavoring to raise the general standards by drawing into government service men and women of unusual ability and training. Progress is likely to be slow; indeed impossible in those cases where politicians stand in the way of needed reforms by insisting upon maintaining their control of appointments.



HORSE RACING PROVIDES OPPORTUNITIES FOR ONE FORM OF GAMBLING

• Something to Think About •

Test Your Emotions

The practice of gambling is a very common one. There are a good many forms of gambling, ranging from taking chances on gambling machines of one sort or another, or betting on games or races, to taking chances by buying tickets which may or may not bring cash prizes, or to speculation in which one buys something in the hope of a sudden but uncertain rise in price. Some people look upon gambling as a great national vice. They think that few other things interfere so much with success and happiness as does the hope of getting something for nothing, which is the eternal hope of the gambler. Others look tolerantly upon the habit of taking chances. You may clarify your own attitude by answering these questions:

1. Do you ever bet on games or races? If so, do you engage in the practice chiefly in the hope of making money, or mainly just for the fun of it?
2. Whether you engage in such practices or not, do you feel that they are right?
3. Do you think that people in general would be happier or less happy if they refused to engage in outright gambling and if they gave little thought to prospects of getting something for nothing?
4. Do you think that the habit of gambling, if engaged in to a considerable extent, interferes with one's work? Does it in this way operate against one's most promising chance for opportunity of becoming successful?
5. Suppose that you do sometimes engage in betting or gambling; would you be willing to stop such practices if you were convinced that these practices were harmful to most people and that the general happiness would be greater if the practices were discouraged?
6. If you think that gambling is wrong, state clearly and precisely just what there is about it which, in your opinion, makes it wrong.
7. Which people in the long run do you think will be better off—those who participate in games of chance and in gambling of different kinds, or those who rarely, if ever, engage in such practices?

Are You Sure of Your Facts?

1. What are the three most important pieces of legislation enacted during the present session of Congress?
2. How many people are on relief in the United States today?
3. True or False: The total number of Indians in the United States is now increasing.
4. What is the latest proposal for a settlement of the TVA problem?
5. Which country has a monopoly on helium?
6. What rebuff did Haile Selassie recently receive at Geneva?
7. What role did the Integralistas play in the recent rebellion in Brazil?

Can You Defend Your Opinions?

1. In your opinion what is the most important problem confronting American youth today? The second most important?
2. Do you think the present foreign policy of Great Britain is more likely to result in the maintenance of peace than her previous policy?
3. Account for the fact that the Chamberlain government is urging the government of Czechoslovakia to make the greatest possible concessions to satisfy the demands of the German minority?
4. Do you think it possible to eliminate bosses from American politics?
5. What action do you think should be taken to remove the evils of the spoils system?

REFERENCES ON YOUTH: (a) Youth Goes Round and Round, by M. B. Bruère. *Survey Graphic*, April 1938, pp. 210-212. (b) What Shall We Do with Them? Opinion of the Training Provided for Modern Youth, by L. F. Hellmann. *Nation's Business*, March 1938, p. 52. (c) Investing in Youth, by E. L. Beadles. *School and Society*, October 30, 1937, pp. 566-567. (d) Prospect for Youth, edited by J. H. S. Bossard and W. W. Weaver. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November 1937, pp. 1-216. (e) Schools and Youth Agencies, by J. E. Russell. *School and Society*, November 13, 1937, pp. 609-612.

REFERENCES ON EUROPE: (a) Crisis, by W. H. Carter. *The Fortnightly*, March 1938, pp. 257-262. (b) Eastern Europe: Vassal or Free? by A. Géraud. *Foreign Affairs*, April 1938, pp. 401-416. (c) Europe Learns from Vienna, by R. Dell. *Nation*, March 19, 1938, pp. 320-321. (d) Rumania, Another Spain? by H. C. Wolfe. *Harpers Magazine*, April 1938, pp. 530-539. (e) The London-Berlin Axis, by F. L. Schuman. *Events*, May 1938, pp. 333-339. (f) The British Peace Program. *New Republic*, April 13, 1938, pp. 295-296.

Your Vocabulary

Do you know the meaning of the italicized words in the following sentences? The Senate engaged in an *acrimonious* debate over the measure. The World War was a *cataclysm* for all Europe. *Fortuitous* circumstances enabled the candidate to win his reelection. International cooperation has been injured by the acts of *perfidious* diplomats. Nelson Eddy has a large *repertoire* of songs. Certain insects *simulate* flowers or leaves. The scientist tested his *hypothetical* analysis with many experiments. It is *impolitic* for a campaigner to ignore his acquaintances.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Lung-Hai (loong'hi'—i as in ice), Suchow (soo'chow), Lazaro Cardenas (la'sa-ro kar'day-nas), Saturnio Cedillo (sa-toor'nyo say-dee'lyo), San Luis Potosi (sahn'loo-ees'po-to-see'), Haile Selassie (hi'leh seh-los'see—i as in ice), Nicholas Horthy (nee-ko-lahs'hor'tee), Budapest (boo'da-pesht), Getulio Vargas (hay-too'lyo vah'r'gas), Integralistas (een-tay-grah-lees'tas), Plinio Salgada (plee'nyo sahl-gah'dah).



A COMMON SIGHT IN THE POLITICAL ANTEROOMS BEFORE THE CIVIL SERVICE ACT WAS PASSED
(From a drawing by W. T. Smedley for "Harpers Weekly.")

Why We Let Bosses Rule

Why Do Criminals and Self-Seekers Exert So Much Influence in Local Politics?

Why Do Well-Meaning and Public-Spirited Officials Often Make Deals with Crooked Politicians?

How Can the Ordinary Citizen Help Correct This Situation?

Why Doesn't He Do It?

"Why Do They Let Us Run It?" This question serves as a title for an article by Frank R. Kent in the *March Reader's Digest*. It was asked of him several years ago by a Chicago boss who in a moment of reflection wondered why the people of the city permitted machine politicians to run their government. "In that question," says Mr. Kent, "is involved the whole story of the dangers that lurk in our democratic system. It pierces deeply our national Achilles heel and its answer is a devastating indictment of the people as a whole." "Because," continues Mr. Kent, "as sure as fate, unless some day they substitute for their political lethargy and ignorance an informed, alert, and ceaselessly vigilant political activity, they will vindicate—clear to the hilt—those prophets who have scoffed at the notion that a people are fit to govern themselves, and who predict an ultimate period of chaos brought about by the dead, mushy weight of popular incompetency."

Political Machines

What is the answer to the question? Why do the people of so many American cities and towns allow corrupt political machines to run their affairs? Those who control the destinies of all cities and towns are not corrupt and incompetent. Many of them are intelligent and public spirited. The fact remains that government in America is at its worst in our municipalities and counties. Many local governments are machine ridden and boss ridden. They are ruled by politicians intent upon preserving their own power and lining their own pockets.

The people pay heavily for permitting this to be. Local governments have important work to do. They are charged with the job of preventing crime; that is, the principal work of crime prevention is in their hands. They control the schools and have the final word concerning the education which may be given to the young. They have in their hands responsibility of maintaining health in the community and of promoting safety.

These things mean much to each family and each individual. Why are they turned over to the lowest elements of the population? The answer frequently given is that the common run of people pay little attention to local government, but why do they not?

Perhaps they do not understand how local government is controlled. They do not understand how the bosses maintain their power. Many people appear to think that the bosses who hold control of cities and counties and states are almost supermen—men so strong or so clever that they cannot be attacked. This is not true. Most of them are no match intellectually for certain of the best and most public-spirited citizens, but they know what they want, and they know how to get what they want. They have taken the trouble to understand how politics operates.

The boss knows that most people are interested in politics only if they want something from it. There are individuals and groups and gangs who want privileges and whose very life depends upon special favors. The criminal, the gangster, the racketeer cannot live unless he shields himself from government prosecution. Neither

can the operator of gambling and vice dens. Neither can certain types of illegitimate liquor interests. All these interests who depend for their life upon the control of government will spend time and money to elect officials who will support them. They will bring votes to the polling places. They control a great bloc of ballots.

The Boss Gives Favors

The boss knows that these elements are alert and attentive to politics. He knows that they will vote all their men. So he deals with them. He gives them favors in return for their votes. They deliver their votes in blocs. They do not control a majority of all the votes, but frequently they control a majority of all the votes which are actually cast, hence they control primaries and nominate candidates.

If we add to these elements certain classes of business interests which have axes to grind, and if we add other pressure groups who are trying to put through their programs, and if we add large numbers of people who care little about what the government does as long as they are given jobs, we have a formidable array of voters. All these together are not a majority, but if they all go together and



THE PERENNIAL CANDIDATE
(Adapted from a cartoon by Kirby in the N. Y. World-Telegram.)

vote for the candidates put up by the boss in primaries, and if three-fourths or nine-tenths of ordinary citizens stay away from the primaries, these special interests controlled by the boss will nominate the candidates. They will nominate them on all the parties. Then when the ordinary good citizen goes to the polls, he can choose only between different sets of boss-nominated candidates.

Effective Organization

It is not that the boss naturally prefers criminals or racketeers or underworld interests to other groups that he depends upon. It is that these groups are organized and bring their full power to the ballot, whereas other citizens do not. If the churches or the schools or intelligent and public-spirited businessmen or intelligent and public-spirited workers' organizations should get together with active determination and then show that they could bring all their members to the polls on primary day, the bosses would listen to them just as quickly. They would do the bidding of these groups just as readily as they do the bidding of the underworld, but they will not pay any attention to the wishes of public-spirited citizens who mean well and talk patriotically but do not go to the primaries to vote and do not organize so as to bring pressure to bear.

Now let us look at the problem in a different way. Let us suppose that you are a governor or a United States senator or a President. You are a candidate for reelection. You believe in the program which you are trying to carry out, but you are going to have a tough time being re-elected. You need all the support you can get.

Let us suppose then that some political boss who heads an effective city political machine comes to you and offers you his support—at a price in order to get it. You must agree to take him into your councils, to give him local patronage, to let him make some of the appointments which



WHEN MIGHT IS MASTER
(From a cartoon by Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.)

really count. If you will do that, all his supporters will get busy and bring out the vote on election day for you.

You know that many decent and self-respecting and patriotic citizens will criticize you if you make the deal with the boss. They would like to have you wash your hands of the whole crowd. They will regret it if you appoint the boss' tools to office. But these people are not well organized. They give only passing attention to politics. Most of them will not go to the primaries to vote. They mean well, but mean well feebly. No one of them can actually promise to deliver you a big block of votes.

Under the circumstances, what will you do? Perhaps you will stand by your principles, refuse to deal with the boss. But if you do that, you know that you may be defeated. On the other hand, you know that you are more likely to be elected if you align yourself with him. Under these circumstances many, probably most, national leaders make their deal with the local bosses.

Only One Remedy

There is one remedy for all this, and only one. That is for the common run of people who are looking for no special interests but who want good government to become as active in politics as the underworld and the self-seekers are. If the public-spirited people do that, they can wipe the cities clean of corrupt bosses in a single year. If they do not do it, the local governments will continue to be controlled as they now are largely by machine politicians, and these local bosses will continue to exert a powerful influence upon the national policies of all parties.

Will the people do this? No one knows. They never have done it. Perhaps they will if conditions become bad enough. "Perhaps," says Kent, "we will continue to wobble dumbly along, bleating like sheep and letting the politicians 'run it,' until we all land in the well-known ditch." He says he does not believe that that will happen. He thinks that the intelligent people of the nation will restore health to politics, but, he warns, "to do that it is essential for the great number of informed and capable individuals, groups, agencies, societies, and organizations in this country, who really want decent government, who believe in our system and want it to last, to cast aside inertia" and realize the importance of local politics, realize that the primary is more important than the general election, and then get out and take an active interest in the control of local politics.

SCOTLAND

Scotland is making a great effort to attract foreign visitors this year. In Glasgow, a British Empire Exhibition is being held. It resembles the "world's fairs" which have become popular in other lands, except that its exhibits are confined to members of the British Empire.

The attractions of Scotland have not been so well advertised as have those of other European nations, but there is scarcely a country which can match the still beauty of the Scottish Highlands, with their glens, rivers, moors, and famous lakes, and of the hundreds of islands which lie along the western coast.

Scotland is faced today with serious problems. The southern part of the country, known as the Lowlands, is the most flourishing section. Here are the great cities, the industries, and the best agricultural lands. Two-thirds of Scotland's 4,800,000 people live in this part of the country. But the northern section, the Highlands, is the largest part of Scotland. Here, the land is sparsely settled and the people find it difficult to make a living, raising sheep and cattle, and doing what farming they can. The poverty of the Highlands is causing the population to decline, as more and more people are going southward in search of work.



DIVIDING UP THE SPOILS
(Adapted from a cartoon by Darling in the N. Y. Herald-Tribune.)

American Youth Looks at Its Problems

(Concluded from page 1)



U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

AMERICAN YOUTH, ENGAGED IN MANY VARYING ACTIVITIES, IS THINKING ABOUT ITS FUTURE

people between the ages of 16 and 24 are single, while between a fourth and a fifth are married. The single youths are for the most part living with their parents or relatives—four out of five of them are. It is frequently said that young people are anxious to get away from home, but only three per cent of those who were single expressed a preference for living elsewhere. The married couples, no doubt, would like in nearly all cases to get into homes of their own, but the economic situation is such that many of them cannot do so. Almost half of the married couples under 24 years of age are still living with parents or relatives.

Standards of Living

If we look more closely at the home conditions, we get an idea of standards of living. These standards are measured to a considerable extent by the number of conveniences such as central heating, electricity, bathrooms, radios, automobiles, and magazines which could be found. Nearly four-fifths of all the young people live in homes which have electricity and also a radio, about two-thirds have an inside bathroom, a little over half subscribe to one magazine or more, and about half the families have an automobile, and almost exactly half have houses with central heating equipment.

The situation of the farm families is not so favorable in these respects. One farm youth in nine lives in a home which enjoys none of the conveniences mentioned. Six out of seven on the farms do not have central heating. One out of two lives in a home that does not have a radio and does not subscribe to a magazine. Two out of three living in farm homes do not have electricity. Only one in five enjoys the benefits of an inside bathroom, while three farm families out of four which were visited have automobiles.

The fact that not many more than half the young people live in homes where there is even one magazine is quite serious. In the schools students are taught to continue their educational interests after they get through with their formal education. They are taught that wide reading is a source of power. Yet about half of them do not have in their homes any magazine and, of course, many of the magazines which are available are not of the sort to stimulate intellectual interests.

Reading Facilities

It is possible, to be sure, that a young person who has recently left school may continue his reading in libraries, and according to the Maryland survey libraries are available to practically all young people in cities. More than half the white youths on the farms reported, however, that libraries were not available, and practically all the Negroes living in the rural districts reported that there were no libraries for them to use.

But the question may fairly be asked as to whether these young men and women would read extensively if they had an opportunity to do so. Some of them would, of course, while others would not. Two-fifths of the girls reported that they preferred reading to other leisure-time activities,

while only 14 per cent of the white boys reported that they preferred reading for their leisure time.

If young people had their way, three out of every four living in villages would move to the cities, about half of those living on farms would move to the towns and cities, while those living in the city would stay where they are. This is a very important fact. It indicates that the trend toward the city is likely to continue in the future as it has in the past.

Now we turn to the education of these young people. More than a third of all who are 16 years old had left school permanently. More than half of those 17 years old were through with their formal education, and more than three-fourths of those 18 years old. About four-fifths of all young people between the ages of 16 and 24 were out of school permanently. Of every 20 of these young people, eight had not gone beyond the eighth grade, five had been in high school but had not graduated, five stopped with high school graduation, and two, or one-tenth, went on beyond high school.

Income and Education

It is very significant that the children of well-to-do parents had much more schooling than the children of poor parents. Only 15 out of 100 of the children of farm laborers attended school beyond the eighth grade, 35 out of 100 whose parents were unskilled laborers went beyond that grade, while the figure for the children of skilled laborers was 65 out of 100, and for the children of professional and technical classes more than 90 out of 100 went beyond the eighth grade.

It thus appears to be an unquestionable

fact that the economic situation of parents determines to a large extent how much schooling the children shall have. The opportunity for Negroes was shown to be much more limited than that for white children. It is significant in this connection that for every 25 youths of all classes and races who had left school, 10 left because of economic need, while four left because they wanted to be in a position to earn their own money.

These young people did not get help or advice about choosing occupations while going to school; that is, most of them did not. Of all students interviewed, nearly 70 per cent said that they had received no help, and of those not employed only a fifth said that they had had any advice in school about the selection of their life careers.

Religious Views

The report shows that there is no marked tendency on the part of young people to break away from the religious faiths of their parents. Over four-fifths of the youth who had some church affiliation preferred the church of their parents. The report states that "the proportion of youth who had adopted a belief different from that of either parent is quite negligible."

It is not to be assumed, of course, that all of those who call themselves church members actually go to church, yet 44 per cent of all the young people who were questioned said that they made it a practice to go to church on an average of once a week. There is quite a little variation among the churches, for three-fourths of the youth from Catholic homes said that they went to church once a week, while only 10 per cent of those of the Jewish faith said they

attended that often. The percentage claimed by Protestants was in the neighborhood of 40 per cent.

The average wage of the employed persons between the ages of 16 and 24 is rather low. Half of the white youths who have jobs receive from \$10 to \$20 per week, while three-fifths of the Negroes receive wages amounting to less than \$10 per week.

Various Attitudes

Most of the young people think that wages are too low. But what is to be done about it? Should the government take action to regulate wages and hours? More than half of all the young people who were questioned said that the government should regulate wages and hours in all industries, and an additional fifth said that the government should regulate wages in some of the industries.

It is interesting to find out what youth actually think about going to war. Thirty per cent of all those who were questioned said that in case of war they would volunteer, while 35 per cent said that they would go if drafted. A total of two-thirds of them, therefore, expressed a willingness to go along without any objection if the government should call for their military services. Sixteen per cent, however, said that they would refuse to go under any circumstances, while another 10 per cent said that they would go if invasion threatened. The present position of about a fourth of the young people appears to be, therefore, that they would either object to service of any kind or to foreign service. It is impossible to say, however, how great the change of sentiment might be if war should actually come.

Smiles

Friend: "I'd have that tooth out if I were you."
Sufferer: "I'd have it out, too, if I were you."
—SELECTED

Father had sent Tommy to the post office to mail a letter, giving him three cents to buy a stamp. Five minutes later he was back with three lollipops.

"I didn't need to buy a stamp," Tommy explained, "because I slipped the letter in the box when nobody was looking."
—CAPPER'S WEEKLY

"These trousers may be useful to you," said the kind old lady. "All they need is a little mending."

"That's all right, lady," said the tramp. "I'll call back in 'arf an hour."
—LONDON HERALD

Husband: "How did you get along driving through the big cities?"

Wife: "Just fine; nearly every one of them had safety zones marked — and I just drove in them."
—SELECTED

Reporter: "Do you ever talk in your sleep?"

College Professor: "No, but I often talk in other people's."
—SELECTED

Tommy: Mother, I bet Dad was always in mischief when he was a boy like me!

Mother: Tommy! What makes you say that?

Tommy: He always knows the right question to ask me when he wants to find out where I've been and what I've been doing.
—LABOR

Newspaper representative: "Good morning, madam. You have won 2,000 pounds cash, three pounds a week for life, a world cruise, and a pet dog!"

Successful competitor: "What breed?"
—HUMORIST

"Your office is full of cheerful, happy workers."

"You are mistaken. Those are my creditors whistling for their money."
—SELECTED

A condition has arisen through Middle Europe whereby a fellow must keep the radio going 24 hours a day to know what nationality he is.
—SELECTED

"A tornado carried away my carriage and blew an automobile into my yard!"
"That was no tornado, brother; that was a trade wind!"
—SELECTED

A Scotchman moved to a new farm which had this sign on the front gate: "No Salesmen or Canvassers Allowed." He soon found some paint and a brush and added below: "Except Those With Samples." —SELECTED

"The India rubber man out at the circus had an accident."

"What happened?"
"He ran down three flights of stairs before he realized he had his arm caught in the door."
—BOY'S LIFE

"Professor, would you come down to my fraternity house for dinner tonight?"
"Now, now, don't worry. I'll pass you in the course without your poisoning me."
—YALE RECORD

Prof. (to freshman entering class late): "When were you born?"

Freshman: "April 2."
Prof.: "Being a little late must be a habit with you."



"GREAT HEAVENS, CHILD, WHAT HAVE YOU DONE?"

BREGER IN JUDGE